

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ROME 09973 01 OF 02 161730Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03 TRSE-00
XMB-02 OPIC-03 LAB-04 EPG-02 SIL-01 OMB-01 AGRE-00
IO-13 /099 W
-----161823Z 096040 /45

P R 161628Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5344
INFO AMCONSUL MUNICH PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN, GERMANY
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 9973/1

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, EFIN, IT
SUBJ: LABOR: CISL NATIONAL CONVENTION OPENS

USEEC
USOECD

MUNICH PLEASE PASS TO GOOTT AND NAGY AT LABOR CONFERENCE

REF: ROME 9775, 9462

1. SUMMARY. ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL MACARIO'S THREE-HOUR SPEECH
OPENED THE CISL NATIONAL CONVENTION ON JUNE 14. THE CONVENTION
WILL CONCLUDE ON JUNE 18 WITH THE ELECTION OF A NEW LEADERSHIP.
MACARIO'S SPEECH, TOUGH ON BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND ON THE COMM-
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PAGE 02 ROME 09973 01 OF 02 161730Z

UNISTS, CLEARLY SOUGHT TO EMBRACE BOTH PRIMARY FACTIONS WITHIN
THE CISL, AND THUS BETRAYED THE SORT OF MEDIOCRITY USUALLY RE-
SERVED TO SPEECHES COMPOSED BY COMMITTEE. IN GENERAL, THE MINO-
RITY HAS REACTED POSITIVELY TO MACARIO'S ECUMENICAL APPROACH.
THOUGH A TRUE READING ON THE LEFT-RIGHT POWER RELATIONSHIPS
IN CISL WILL EMERGE ON SATURDAY, PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS
ARE THAT THE CARNITI-LED RADICAL FORCES ARE RIDING HIGH.

END SUMMARY.

2. THE 8TH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE DC-ORIENTED LABOR CONFEDERATION CISL OPENED JUNE 14 WITH A LENGTHY KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL LUIGI MACARIO. THE SPEECH, MERCIFULLY CUT TO THREE HOURS BY SKIPPING SEVERAL SECTIONS, WAS LONGER ON VERBIAGE THAN ON CONTENT. THIS MAY WELL RESULT AS MUCH FROM THE JERRYRIGGING INVOLVED IN THE SPEECH'S COMPOSITION - AN AMALGAMATION OF THE MAJORITY AND MINORITY DOCUMENTS DEVELOPED FOR THE CONVENTION'S CONSIDERATION -- AS FROM A PAUCITY OF INTELLIGENTIAL BRILLIANCE ON THE PART OF THE COMPOSER.

3. MACARIO'S SPEECH HAD A TOUGHER TONE VERSUS THE GOVERNMENT THAN DID THAT OF THE COMMUNIST LAMA AT THE CGIL CONGRESS (REFTELS). HE CHARGED THE GOVERNMENT WITH NEITHER COMPREHENDING ACCURATELY THE DEPTH OF THE PLIGHT OF THE UNEMPLOYED NOR DEVISING EFFICIENT MACHINERY TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEM. (AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, HE NEVER CRITICIZED THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. INDEED, SOME OF THE WARMEST APPLAUSE DURING THE INTRODUCTION OF SPECIAL GUESTS WAS RESERVED FOR THE DC REPRESENTATIVES).

4. WITH RESPECT TO THE AUSTERITY MEASURES, MACARIO SAID: "IT IS NOT AUSTERITY THAT WE OPPOSE, BUT THE KIND OF AUSTERITY WE HAVE TODAY WHICH KEEPS US TRAPPED WITHIN THE EYE OF THE HURRICANE. WE FIND OURSELVES IN A MINEFIELD AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO STAY THERE. WE FIND OURSELVES IN A MINEFIELD AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO STAY THERE. A CLASH (WITH THE GOVERNMENT) WILL NOT BE OVER THE COST OF LABOR, WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE A CLOSED ISSUE, NOR THE QUESTION OF WAGES WHICH TODAY IS CONSIDERABLY LESS IMPORTANT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PAGE 03 ROME 09973 01 OF 02 161730Z

TANT THAN THAT OF INVESTMENTS AND OF JOBS. THE POINT OF POSSIBLE CONFLICT...CONCERNS THE CHOICE OF ECONOMIC POLICY WHICH, AS IT STANDS TODAY, IS NOT GOING WELL AND MUST BE CHANGED." RATHER TYPICALLY, THE PROPOSED CHANGES WERE NOT VERY SPECIFICALLY OUTLINED.

5. MACARIO REJECTED TWO "EQUALLY PERILOUS" SOLUTIONS TO ITALY'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, NAMELY, "A RADICAL POLARIZATION BETWEEN THE DC AND THE PCI" OR "A FALSE UNANIMISTIC COMPROMISE." ALLUDING BROADLY TO THE NAKED CALL BY THE CGIL FOR COMMUNIST ENTRY INTO THE GOVERNMENT, HE SAID "WE REFUSE TO INDICATE A PREFERENCE FOR A SPECIFIC FORMULA FOR GOVERNMENT; WE REFUSE THE NOTION OF A LABOR MOVEMENT WHICH BECOMES THE TOOL OF THIS OR THAT POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS, BE IT THE CENTRISM OF AN EARLIER DAY, THE CENTER-LEFT OF YESTERDAY OR SOME OTHER POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENT TOMORROW." ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ALSO CALLED FOR "THE LARGEST POSSIBLE CONSENSUS" IN ARRIVING AT SOLUTIONS FOR THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS.

6. MACARIO WAS CRITICAL OF THE CGIL, WHICH HE DESCRIBED ELLIPTI-

CALLY AS BEING ESSENTIALLY HANDMAIDEN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.
HE ALSO ACCUSED THE CGIL AND THE COMMUNISTS OF HYPOCRISY IN THEIR
CRITICISM OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC HEGEMONY. "WHAT HAS THE PCI
BEEN DOING SINCE (THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS OF LAST) JUNE 20,
IF NOT LAYING HANDS ON EACH AND EVERY LEVEL OF POWER AND PRIVILEGE
AVAILABLE TO IT? IS IT BECAUSE MANY IN THE MIDDLE CLASS,
MANY APARTMENT OWNERS, VOTED FOR THE LEFT ON JUNE 20 THAT (THE
COMMUNISTS) HAVE BECOME MORE SENSITIVE TO FAIR RENTS THAN TO
FAIR WAGES?"

7. WITH RESPECT TO ECONOMIC ISSUES, MACARIO REJECTED THE NOTION,
PUT FORTH BY THE CGIL, OF PHASING OUT TERMINATION BONUSES.
THESE SHOULD BE "REDIMENSIONED, NOT ABROGATED." ABOVE ALL,
TERMINATION BONUSES ALREADY EARNED "ARE UNTOUCHABLE." ON THE
OTHER HAND, HE ADVOCATED EXTENDING TO BLUE COLLAR WORKERS THE
RIGHT TO BARGAIN FOR SENIORITY PRIVILEGES AT THE PLANT LEVEL
AS ALREADY ENJOYED BY SALARIED EMPLOYEES. THE MAIN THRUST OF
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PAGE 04 ROME 09973 01 OF 02 161730Z

MACARIO'S PROPOSALS IN THIS GENERAL AREA WAS TO CALL FOR "A
MASSIVE ATTACK" ON WHAT IS KNOWN AS THE "JUNGLE OF REMUNERATION,"
I.E., THE INCONSISTENT MAZE OF WAGE AND SALARY PAYMENTS AND
BONUSES WHICH RENDER IMPOSSIBLE RATIONAL COMPARISONS BETWEEN
VARIOUS WAGE CATEGORIES.

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PAGE 01 ROME 09973 02 OF 02 161802Z
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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 9973/2

8. THE INITIAL COMMENTS ON MACARIO'S ADDRESS BY LEADING MEMBERS OF THE CISL MINORITY -- BY AGRICULTURAL WORKERS CHIEF SARTORI AND NATIONAL SECRETARY FANTONI -- WERE GUARDEDLY POSITIVE. THEY BOTH INDICATED THAT, "IN GENERAL", THEY WELCOMED MACARIO'S SPEECH, AND HIS INSISTENT CALL FOR CISL UNITY, FOR "THE MINORITY TO JOIN THE MAJORITY." BOTH WERE OUTSPOKENLY CRITICAL OF THE COMMUNISTS, WHOM THEY ACCUSED OF SEEKING TO MISLEAD ITALIAN LABOR AS TO THEIR TRUE INTENTIONS. IN LAMA'S PRESENCE, FANTONI RECALLED THAT HE AND LAMA HAD ATTENDED A ROMANIAN LABOR CONGRESS A FEW YEARS AGO. THE MOST PROMINENT SLOGAN WAS: "TRADE UNION AUTONOMY UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY."

9. LAMA, TOO, ADDRESSED THE CISL CONVENTION AND WAS WARMLY RECEIVED. HIS REMARKS WERE INCLUSIVE, CONCILIATORY, MODERATE. SURELY HIS MOST STRIKING STATEMENT WAS THIS: "WE, AS YOU,
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PAGE 02 ROME 09973 02 OF 02 161802Z

REJECT ANY TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WHICH SERVES AND IS CONTROLLED BY THE REGIME."

10. COMMENT. WITH RESPECT TO THE MAIN ISSUE AT STAKE IN THE CONVENTION, NAMELY, WHETHER THE RADICAL CARNITI OR THE MODERATE MARINI FORCES WILL PREVAIL, IT DOES NOT LOOK TOO GOOD FOR THE LATTER. EVEN BEARING IN MIND THAT THE CARNITI ADHERENTS, BY THEIR NATURE, PROBABLY MAKE MORE NOISE THAN THE MODERATES, THE APPLAUSE DISTRIBUTION DURING THE INTRODUCTION OF VARIOUS GUEST DELEGATES CLEARLY SUGGESTED THE PRESENCE OF A LEFT BIAS. THE WARMEST APPLAUSE BY FAR WAS RESERVED FOR THE CHILEAN TRADE UNIONIST IN EXILE. THE US DELEGATION (MARTIN WARD AND DAVID BROMBART) WAS NO MORE WARMLY RECEIVED THAN THE DELEGATES FROM POLAND OR ROMANIA, MUCH LESS THAN THE SPANISH REPRESENTATIVES.

11. THE MAIN POINT OF CONTENTION IS WHETHER THERE ARE TO BE TWO LISTS FOR THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, OR AN INTEGRATED LIST. IT IS INDICATIVE THAT THE MARINI GROUP IS STRIVING FOR A SINGLE LIST, BECAUSE TWO LISTS, THE LIKELIER OUTCOME, WOULD GIVE A CLEAR READING OF THE STRENGTH RELATIONSHIP AND SHOW MARINI GROUP IN A MINORITY POSITION. STILL UP IN THE AIR IS HOW THE MATTER OF THE POST OF DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL WILL BE HANDLED: WHETHER BOTH CARNITI AND MARINI WILL RECEIVE THIS DESIGNATION, OR NEITHER, OR ONLY ONE OF THE TWO. THE CLEAR CURRENT CONSENSUS IS THAT, IF A SINGLE DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL IS NAMED, HIS

NAME WILL BE CARNITI.

P.S. SECRETARY GENERAL OTTO KERSTEN OF THE ICFTU, ALSO PRESENT AT
THE CONVENTION, CONFIRMED UNEQUIVOCALLY TO THE LABOR ATTACHE
THAT, AS RUMORED (SEE ROME'S 9775), CGIL INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS
CHIEF BONACCINI VOTED FOR IRVING BROWN AT THE ILO.GARDNER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: LABOR UNIONS, MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS
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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977ROME09973
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: DG ALTERED
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770215-0532
Format: TEL
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770650/aaaabrnr.tel
Line Count: 230
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
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Message ID: e1d37c7b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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Reference: 77 ROME 9775
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2128045
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LABOR: CISL NATIONAL CONVENTION OPENS USEEC USOECD
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, EFIN, IT, CISL
To: STATE USEEC MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e1d37c7b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009